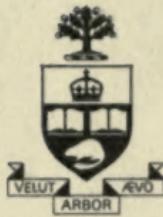


SOMETHING TO SAY  
HOW TO SAY IT



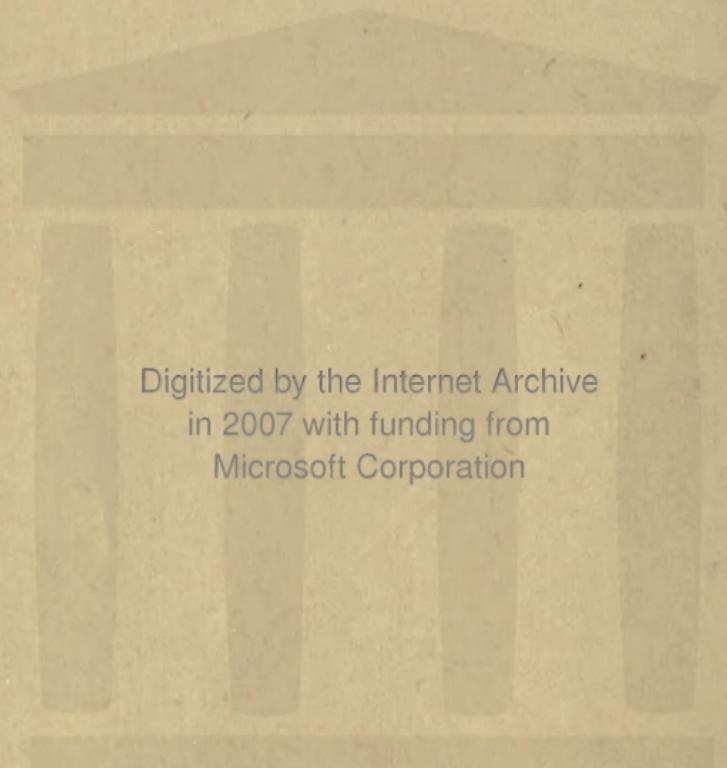
GRENVILLE KLEISER



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**SOMETHING TO SAY AND  
HOW TO SAY IT**

# *By Grenville Kleiser*

- Inspiration and Ideals
- How to Build Mental Power
- How to Develop Self-Confidence in Speech and Manner.
- How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking
- How to Read and Declaim
- How to Speak in Public
- Great Speeches and How to Make Them
- How to Argue and Win
- Humorous Hits and How to Hold an Audience
- Complete Guide to Public Speaking
- Talks on Talking
- Fifteen Thousand Useful Phrases
- The World's Great Sermons
- Mail Course in Public Speaking
- Mail Course in Practical English
- How to Speak Without Notes
- Something to Say: How to Say It
- Successful Methods of Public Speaking
- Model Speeches for Practise
- The Training of a Public Speaker
- How to Sell Through Speech
- Impromptu Speeches: How to Make Them
- Word-Power: How to Develop It
- Christ: The Master Speaker
- Vital English for Speakers and Writers

# Something To Say: and How To Say It

BY

GRENVILLE KLEISER

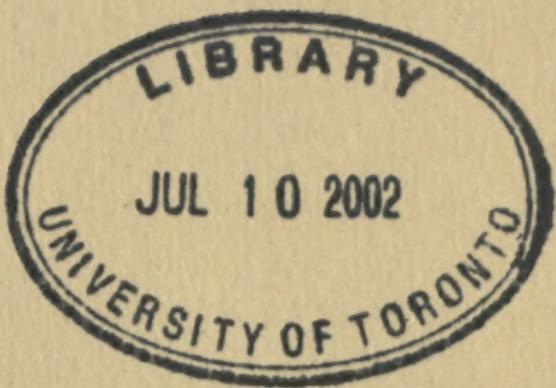
1868-1953

*Formerly Instructor in Public Speaking at Yale Divinity School, Yale University. Author of "How to Speak in Public," "Great Speeches and How to Make Them," "Complete Guide to Public Speaking," "How to Build Mental Power," "Talks on Talking," etc., etc.*



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August 11, 1910

## PREFACE

The daily practise of reading aloud from the work of a standard author is one of the best preparations for public speaking. This exercise stimulates and develops all the mental powers. It confers the advantages which come from fitting words to the lips, and gives excellent opportunity for practical improvement in articulation, pronunciation, and vocal expression.

A well-furnished mind presupposes a discriminating choice of books and a judicious way of reading them. The purpose of reading may be for study or for entertainment, but properly it is for acquiring knowledge and culture.

There is no better way to accumulate

## PREFACE

useful material for public speaking than to nourish the mind with thoughts from the world's great writers. A public speaker should be a wide reader, a close observer, and a deep thinker.

GRENVILLE KLEISER.

New York City,

August, 1919.

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## **SOMETHING TO SAY**



## SOMETHING TO SAY

One of the most essential things for you as a public speaker is to have something worth while to say. If you have a vital message to deliver, or have thoroughly familiarized yourself with a subject of importance to your fellow men, you will have little difficulty in commanding an attentive hearing.

Make it your deliberate purpose to acquire a large fund of useful knowledge, and as far as you are able acquaint yourself with the best that has been thought and known in the world. The formation of "the student habit" is essential to your greatest progress in this valuable study.

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

### HOW TO GATHER MATERIAL FOR A SPEECH

Assuming that you are now interested in a particular subject upon which you wish to speak in public, your first aim should be to gather all the useful material available on that subject. As you proceed, other desirable themes will suggest themselves to your mind.

Keep a separate note-book for each subject upon which you intend to gather material for future speech-making. Carefully write down in such books your newly acquired ideas, facts, information, and other data. These note-books will ultimately be of great value to you, since they will be the product of your own efforts. The more thoroughly you do this preliminary work of note-taking, the more authoritative and influential will you ultimately become as a public speaker.

## SOMETHING TO SAY

*Make it an invariable rule to write down at once any new ideas or information which you think will be of value to you.* Keep your note-books at hand for ready use. Many thoughts will come to your mind which you can turn to good account if you seize them promptly, but which otherwise may disappear never to recur to you.

I ask you now to consider the principal sources from which you may draw material for a speech. These are:

1. Observation.
2. Conversation.
3. Reading.
4. Meditation.

### THE VALUE OF OBSERVATION

*You develop the faculty of observation through use.* You most closely observe those things in which you are most deeply interested. Hence the best way

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

to broaden your general powers of observation is first to broaden your personal interests. Realize the practical value of accurately observing things about you, of closely examining details, of looking intently and intelligently at objects, scenes, and persons in your daily activities.

*Cultivate open-eyed observation.*— Endeavor to see things as they are, not as they simply appear to be, or as perhaps you want them to be. Take all the time necessary to look deeply into things. Look not only at the obvious facts of life about you, but try to penetrate into deep relationships, causes, laws, and principles.

*Observation and memory are closely connected.*—Both demand concentration, and are directly dependent for their power upon the ability to secure vivid mental impressions. Memory is largely

## SOMETHING TO SAY

association of ideas, and ideas usually link themselves in the mind as originally received through observation, meditation, or other means.

*The world about you constantly furnishes you with valuable ideas.*—When your mind is alert and receptive, if you are a discriminating observer, you will find on all sides an abundance of interesting material for your practical use.

Concentrated observation yields the best results. You may so scatter your powers of observation as to see a little of everything, but yet have no clear and definite impression of any one thing. Your eyes should be trained not only to see, but to perceive, appraise, and classify.

*Be selective in your observation.*—Do not allow trifles to absorb too much of your attention. Through practise you can learn to rule your thinking. It is

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

not, of course, advisable for you to be constantly observing, but you should develop your faculty of observation so thoroughly that you can apply it to any object or purpose at will.

Here are some useful exercises for developing keen observation:

### EXERCISES TO DEVELOP POWERS OF OBSERVATION

1. As you look at an object, think what you would say if you were afterward asked to describe it. Consider its size, color, use, character, location, history, or other details.

2. Assume that you will be asked to describe the next man to whom you speak. Carefully note his face in detail, his voice, use of words, ideas, personal appearance, manner, and personality.

3. Look about you quickly. Close your eyes, and describe in detail what you saw.

## SOMETHING TO SAY

Again look about you, and repeat the exercise, endeavoring to add to your first enumeration of details.

4. Occasionally describe from memory various objects, scenes, or events, such as a flower, tree, building, church, landscape, the sky, sea, country, or a dinner, meeting, procession, race, game, or journey.

5. Write out a detailed description of something you have recently seen.

6. Read a page in a book, then write out a resumé in your own words.

7. Describe, in writing, a street along which you pass daily.

8. After you have heard a lecture, sermon, or address, try to repeat aloud the substance of what you have heard.

These are simple and practical aids for developing the faculties of observation, concentration, and memory. You will be surprised at the rapid progress

**SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT**  
you will make by means of these exercises.

**HOW AND WHY TO PRACTISE  
CONCENTRATION**

Concentration means doing one thing well. To apply your mind exclusively to one subject, you must subordinate other interests. There is a moral quality in concentration, implying discipline and self-denial. Be willing to forego, at least for a time, other alluring things, in order to progress rapidly in some one thing.

It is only the man of exceptional natural endowments and highly developed powers who can excel in many things. Do not underestimate your powers, but at the same time recognize your limitations. Concentrate and specialize. Studiously avoid getting into a rut.

As you apply your best energies to a

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specific study, there will be disclosed to you hitherto unsuspected capacities for further growth. You will steadily and surely learn the right direction to take in your earnest pursuit of truth and knowledge.

Provide yourself with a copy of Hamilton Wright Mabie's inspiring book "*Work and Culture*." It is a small book for convenient use. It will show you how all good work and study are the fruits of self-denial, patience, and perseverance, and it will give you many new incentives to larger and better effort.

One of the most stimulating and productive sources of material for your public speaking is the study of Nature. Trees and flowers, hills and streams, sea and sky, offer useful material for study, analogy, and illustration.

The intimate study of Nature throughout the changing seasons will have a

**SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT**  
broadening and uplifting effect upon your mind. Thoughts of beauty and grandeur are engendered by the contemplation of Nature, and act as a beneficent influence upon your general life.

Nature is so prodigal in her display of beauty that you may easily pass thoughtlessly by the miracles spread at your very feet. Ruskin lamented that so few people looked up at the sky, and therefore missed its wonderful message and unsurpassed beauty.

#### **GETTING THE MOST OUT OF CONVERSATION**

Daily conversation offers to you one of the best opportunities for practise in the fundamentals of public speaking. The requirements for polite conversation—considerateness, courtesy, simplicity, naturalness, agreeableness, adaptability, and sincerity—are precisely the

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qualities required in a cultured public speaker.

*It is chiefly in your daily speech with others that you form unconscious habits of expression. Therefore it is in your daily speech that you should establish the desirable habits of clearness, directness, deliberateness, conciseness, pleasantness, dignity, and self-control.*

The most approved type of public speaking to-day is conversation enlarged and occasionally intensified to suit the circumstances. In addressing an audience, talk to them as you would to any one of them singly,—clearly, sincerely, and conversationally. Do not allow your earnestness to carry you into an unduly high key. Guard against the faults of exaggeration, loudness, and haranguing.

A discriminating use of conversation will yield valuable material for your public speaking. Tactfully introduce

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into your conversation the particular subject upon which you are gathering speech material. In this way you can often accumulate ideas of great practical value. Moreover, to talk over a subject with another person is almost surely to bring into view interesting facts and opinions which have not before occurred to you.

You can make your daily conversation serve the practical purpose of comparing your preconceived ideas with those of other men, of correcting your opinions where they are erroneous, of clarifying your thoughts in the process of clothing them in suitable language, and of broadening your general mental outlook.

Conversation offers frequent opportunity for correcting in yourself faults of speech which may have come to your attention, such as slovenly articulation,

## SOMETHING TO SAY

careless pronunciation, monotony of tone, harshness of voice, or high pitch. These and similar faults can be quickly eradicated by giving careful attention to your manner of speaking in daily intercourse.

### THE INFLUENCE OF CONVERSATION ON ORATORY

The vital importance of conversation to the student of public speaking is thus emphasized by Dr. Storrs:

“Conversation, with equal minds, is of immense and constant service in refreshing the mind, and replenishing it with active force. Indeed, conversation, if practised as it ought to be, as a commerce of thought between responsive and interchanging minds, is an invaluable aid toward gaining the art of easy and self-possest public speech. I do not think we have as much of it as we ought; or that it holds the place which it should

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in our plans of life, as a real educational force. It is much the same exercise, if you analyze it, as public speaking. Of course, it is not the same altogether. In public speech, your utterance of thought is more prolonged; it is monolog, not dialog. You miss the help which comes from interjected remarks or replies; and you are not so immediately conscious of the sympathy or the collision of the adjacent minds. Still, conversation is much the same form of mental activity; and it always helps the public speaker. It trains the mind to think rapidly, and to formulate thought with facility and success; and each sense of such success, which is gained in conversation, will give one more confidence when he stands before an audience."

You can also learn much from others by being an intelligent listener. While you are speaking, your mind is giving

## **SOMETHING TO SAY**

out ideas; when you are listening to others, you are in the mental attitude of receiving ideas. You will find the art of intelligent listening a valuable aid in accumulating a stock of ideas.

### **READING AS A SOURCE OF MATERIAL**

The principal source of material for speech-making is that of reading, especially of good books. Many busy men are superficial and indefinite in their reading. They fail to realize that the time which they give to vagrant and aimless reading, if properly devoted to the best class of books, would give them, in the course of a few months, the foundation of a liberal education.

### **HOW AND WHAT TO READ**

As a methodical beginning, you should select half a dozen really worthwhile books, and write out a definite plan for

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

reading them, making a strict pledge with yourself to carry out your plan faithfully. As you follow this method of regular and systematic reading, the way will open gradually to larger and more productive fields of literature.

It is possible that you are now giving too much time to reading daily newspapers. If so, I suggest that you try the experiment of giving up your morning paper for a week, and confining such reading to an evening paper in which news is usually presented in concise form.

Instead of taking a morning newspaper, begin the day by reading aloud a piece of good English prose, preferably something that will give you useful and inspiring thoughts. Let such reading serve as a key-note to your day's activities, and carefully observe at the end of a week the difference this plan has made

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in your mental growth and personal advancement.

### READ A PASSAGE LIKE THIS:

“There is no better way, I believe, in which to test the reality of our culture than by the self-discipline it teaches us to use in talk; and it may be that the chief service that we can render, the chief outcome that God looks for from our higher education, is that in our homes, in the society around us, we should set a higher example of the right use of speech; the right tone and temper and reticence in conversation; the abhorrence of idle words. Neither let us think that this ever will be easy to us. We must not be affected or pedantic, we must not be always setting other people right; but we must be careful; we must keep our wishes and passions from coloring our view of things; we must take

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great pains to enter into the minds and feelings of others, to understand how things look to them and we must remember that, whatever pains we take in that regard, the result is still sure to be imperfect; we must rule our moods, our likes and dislikes, with a firm hand; we must distrust our general impressions till we have frankly, faithfully examined them; we must resist the desire to say clever or surprizing things; we must be resolute not to overstate our case; we must let nothing pass our lips that charity would check; we must be always ready to confess our ignorance, and to be silent.—Yes, it is a hard and long task; but it is for a high end, and in a noble service. It is that we may be able to help others; to possess our souls in days of confusion and vehemence and controversy; to grow in the rare grace of judgment; to be such that people may trust

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us, whether they agree with us or not. It is that we may somewhat detach ourselves from the stream of talk, and learn to listen for the voice of God, and to commit our ways to Him."

## THE BENEFITS FROM READING THE BIBLE

There is one great book, the greatest of all books, about which many persons have an erroneous opinion. They regard it as merely a book of religious instruction, a dry and uninteresting book, an especially good book for spectacled elderly people, a good book to have when you are about to die, but of no especial value to you in practical every-day life.

And yet the Bible itself is the book of Life. It is the great treasure-house of lofty ideas and ideals. It is a casket of rare jewels, of the richest and most exquisite workmanship. In it you will find

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supreme examples of narration, description, poetry, drama, biography, philosophy, history, and oratory.

The great orators of the world have frankly acknowledged their indebtedness to the Bible as a source of exalted thought. An eminent scholar once said, "*I have regularly and attentively perused these Holy Scriptures, and I am of the opinion that this volume, independent of its divine origin, contains more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they have been written.*"

## HOW TO USE THE DICTIONARY

In your work as a public speaker, it will be of great practical value to you to read daily from the dictionary. It is

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not sufficient merely to examine the definitions of selected words, but to read the book in regular order much as you would any other book. Many of the most successful public speakers formed early in life the “dictionary habit.”

For example, you read in the dictionary:

“*Patience*.—The quality of being patient. The exercise of sustained endurance and perseverance. Forbearance toward the faults or infirmities of others. Tranquil waiting or expectation. *Synonyms*: calmness, composure, endurance, forbearance, fortitude, leniency, long-suffering, resignation, submission, sufferance. Endurance hardens itself against suffering, and may be merely stubborn; by modifiers it may be made to have a passive force, as when we speak of ‘passive endurance’; fortitude is endurance animated by courage;

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patience is not so hard as endurance nor so self-effacing as submission. Submission is ordinarily, and resignation always, applied to matters of great moment, while patience may apply to slight worries and annoyances. As regards our relations to our fellow men, forbearance is abstaining from retaliation or revenge; patience is keeping kindness of heart under vexatious conduct; long-suffering is continued patience. Patience may also have an active force denoting uncomplaining steadiness in doing, as in tilling the soil."

Observe how interesting and informing this is. You receive from such reading, not only definite and accurate knowledge of the word "patience," but your taste is thereby formed for concise and clear-cut English, since the lexicographer is not only a scholar but a man trained in the art of terse expression.

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He must define words accurately and clearly, and he must compress his thoughts into the smallest possible space.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAKING YOUR READING MORE BENEFICIAL

Considering the comparatively small margin of time which you probably have in which to read, it will be well to make good use of fragments of time, of odd moments which are ordinarily wasted. Do not wait for special occasions to read great books, but read every day a page or a chapter of standard literature.

*Own the books you read.*—The books you borrow may possibly be your servants, but they can not be your close friends. To be a book-lover in the true sense you must be a book-owner. A book worth reading is worth buying. The borrowed book suggests the quick-lunch counter.

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

The ownership of a few well-chosen books confers upon the owner a sense of dignity and personal worth which he would not have without them. The great-minded men of all time have been extravagant in their taste and desire for books.

Having made a judicious choice of books, it is equally important that you should know how to read them to the best advantage. A definite plan will enable you to get more out of your reading and to make the results of permanent value in your life.

*A book worth reading once is usually worth reading several times.*—The advantage of repeated reading of a book is that you make its contents more fully your own, and in consequence your knowledge is likely to be superior to that of most men.

*Read with pencil in hand.*—Under-

## SOMETHING TO SAY

score special ideas, and make marginal notes. The mere act of holding a pencil in readiness will tend to make you more alert to significant thoughts. Marking a book in the way just indicated inculcates the valuable habit of thoroughness.

*Review what you have read.*—The important thing in your reading is not merely to accumulate, but to assimilate. At the close of a chapter make a mental résumé of what you have just read. This strengthens the memory and trains the mind to orderly and concentrated thinking.

After reading a book of importance, make a careful abstract, writing out the salient ideas. This will be a special test of your grasp of the subject, and will also serve as a record for convenient reference.

*Form the habit of thoroughness in*

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

*your reading.*—The common tendency to skim books and to wander over too large a field should be sedulously avoided. It is better to read one standard book thoroughly and to grasp its contents intelligently, than to have a smattering of many books.

You can, of course, appraise an unknown book by a rapid examination of its contents. It is legitimate for you to do this, so as to say, "This book is what I want," "It will repay careful reading," "It suits my purpose," or "This is not a useful book for me, and I shall therefore pass it by to make place for a better book."

*Make written notes of what you read.*—This will develop your powers of concentration, memory, and thoroughness. I can not too strongly urge you to form this valuable habit of constant note-making.

## SOMETHING TO SAY

*Apply the results of your reading, whenever possible, to some definite purpose.* When you put to actual use your newly acquired ideas, you make them more particularly a real and permanent possession.

*Judge every book on its merits.—* Choose books that have a definite and a real message for you. In the great books of the world great men talk to you at their best. It is your rare privilege to take their ideas and weave them into your own life.

## GETTING PRACTICAL HELP FROM MEDITATION

The practise of daily meditation confers many distinct advantages. By reflecting deeply upon a subject, you secure a more thorough and enduring grasp of it. In this way many ideas, at first indefinite and uncertain, are brought into clearer view.

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As you deeply reflect upon the material which you have roughly gathered together for a proposed speech, it tends gradually to fall into logical order. Your ideas become clarified, and the subsequent work of writing out your speech is thereby simplified.

*The habit of reflection will develop all the reasoning powers of your mind, so that you can more readily penetrate into questions, detect fallacies, weigh possibilities, and carry a long chain of arguments in regular sequence.*

Many eminent public speakers have attributed their power chiefly to the habit of daily meditation. Through deep and earnest reflection upon a single subject, they first mastered their facts and then rose above other men by sheer force of superiority.

Gladstone was a conspicuous example of an orator who owed much of his power

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to a long-established habit of deep meditation. When asked to express his opinion as to the best preparation for a public speaker, he recommended a wide and general education to give suppleness and readiness to the mind, and the habit of constant and searching reflection on the subject of a proposed address.

## THE REWARDS OF INTELLIGENT APPLICATION

These, then, are the principal sources from which you may draw material for a speech,—observation, conversation, reading, and meditation,—and to each of these important sources you should give adequate attention. As you do this regularly and intelligently, you will be conscious of steadily increasing power.

Acquisition of superior knowledge demands thoroughness, accuracy, and concentration. Desultory reading and

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

fitful study may give you information, but not great learning and culture. Ordinary ability with extraordinary diligence can accomplish astonishing results. Intellectual power is a growth rather than a gift. The inevitable price of real knowledge is laborious application.

The use you make of your present mental powers has a vital influence upon your further development. Intellectual culture should not be for self-satisfaction or ostentatious display, but for increased power, efficiency, usefulness, and achievement. The time you give daily to self-culture will be a profitable investment.

## SOMETHING TO SAY

### Speech for Study, with Lesson Talk

#### HOW TO PROFIT FROM YOUR STUDY OF SPEECHES

As an earnest student of public speaking, give some time daily to the analysis of speech models. This method has been followed with success by all the great public speakers of the world. They have been close students of the works of distinguished predecessors.

In your examination of the following speech by Joseph H. Choate, you will observe several important features. The speaker was not only thoroughly versed in his subject,—unusually so in view of the nature of the occasion,—but he spoke out of a well-furnished and acutely trained mind, and from a wide and varied experience.

This speech was delivered at the unveiling of the Statue of Rufus Choate in the Court House of Boston, October 15,

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

1898. Rufus Choate was born in 1799, and died in 1859; he was elected to Congress in 1830, and re-elected in 1832, but resigned in 1834. He was United States Senator in 1841, serving while Webster was Secretary of State, and succeeded Webster in 1845.

What made this speech so impressive and eloquent was not merely the intellect, feeling, and experience of the speaker, but also his character and personality. There was something finer in the man than in anything he said. He was a gracious gentleman, conversing on a subject which he knew thoroughly, and upon which he had a peculiar right to speak.

First read the speech aloud in its entirety. Say it as you would say it in conversation. Do not render it in the usual stereotyped style, but talk it as if it were the product of your own mind

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and you were actually addressing a number of people.

Read it again, and this time underscore with a pencil all words, phrases, or passages which particularly appeal to you. It is not necessary to commit it to memory, but read it aloud at least once a day for a week, so that its substance and oratorical form may be deeply impressed upon your mind.

Note the speaker's reference to Rembrandt, the quotation "*noble, sublime, godlike action,*" from Webster's famous eulogy on "The Eloquence of Adam," the Bible quotation "*This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes,*" (St. Matthew 21: 42), and the unaffected and felicitous English style throughout.

Consult your dictionary for the pronunciation of the following words:

*Faneuil, decade, robust, propitious, temperament, arid, consummate, august.*

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

As you read the speech, open your mouth well, articulate distinctly, speak deliberately, and imagine yourself addressing an audience. Use a full-toned voice, but avoid mere loudness. Let your reading be simply "good talk."

### SPEECH FOR STUDY ORATION ON RUFUS CHOATE By JOSEPH H. CHOATE

I deem it a very great honor to have been invited by the Suffolk Bar Association to take part on this occasion in honor of him who still stands as one of the most brilliant ornaments of the American Bar in its annals of two centuries. Bearing his name and lineage, and owing to him, as I do, more than to any other man or men—to his example and inspiration, to his sympathy and helping hand—whatever success has attended my own professional efforts, I

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could not refuse the invitation to come here to-day to the dedication of this statue, which shall stand for centuries to come, and convey to the generations who knew him not, some ideas of the figure and the features of Rufus Choate. Neither bronze nor marble can do him justice. Not Rembrandt himself could reproduce the man as we knew and loved him—for until he lay upon his death-bed he was all action, the “noble, divine, god-like action” of the orator—and the still life of art could never represent him as he was. It is forty years since he strode these ancient streets with his majestic step—forty years since the marvelous music of his voice was heard by the living ear—and those of us who, as students and disciples, followed his footsteps, and listened to his eloquence, and almost worshipped his presence, whose ideal and idol he was, are already many years

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older than he lived to be ; but there must be a few still living, and present here to-day, who were in the admiring crowds that hung with rapture on his lips—in the courts of justice, in the densely packed assembly, in the Senate, in the Constitutional Convention, or in Faneuil Hall, consecrated to Freedom—and who can still recall, among life's most cherished memories, the tones of that matchless voice, that pallid face illuminated with rare intelligence, the flashing glance of his dark eye, and the light of his bewitching smile. But, in a decade or two more, these lingering witnesses of his glory and his triumphs will have passed on, and to the next generation he will be but a name and a statue, enshrined in fame's temple with Cicero and Burke, with Otis and Hamilton and Webster, with Pinkney and Wirt, whose words and thoughts he loved to study and to master.

## SOMETHING TO SAY

Many a noted orator, many a great lawyer, has been lost in oblivion in forty years after the grave closed over him, but I venture to believe that the Bar of Suffolk, aye, the whole Bar of America, and the people of Massachusetts, have kept the memory of no other man alive and green so long, so vividly and so lovingly, as that of Rufus Choate. Many of his characteristic utterances have become proverbial, and the flashes of his wit, the play of his fancy, and the gorgeous pictures of his imagination are the constant themes of reminiscence, wherever American lawyers assemble for social converse.

How it was that such an exotic nature, so ardent and tropical in all its manifestations, so truly southern and Italian in all its impulses, and at the same time so robust and sturdy in its strength, could have been produced upon the bleak

## SOMETHING TO SAY, HOW TO SAY IT

and barren soil of our northern cape, and nurtured under the chilling blasts of its east winds, is a mystery insoluble. Truly, “this is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.” In one of his speeches in the Senate, he draws the distinction between “the cool and slow New England men, and the mercurial children of the sun, who sat down side by side in the presence of Washington, to form our more perfect union.” If ever there was a mercurial child of the sun, it was himself, most happily described. I am one of those who believe that the stuff that a man is made of has more to do with his career than any education or environment. The greatness that is achieved, or is thrust upon some men, dwindle<sup>s</sup> before that of him who is born great. His horoscope was propitious. The stars in their courses fought for him. The birthmark of genius, dis-

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tinct and ineffaceable, was on his brow. He came of a long line of pious and devout ancestors, whose living was as plain as their thinking was high. It was from father and mother that he derived the flame of intellect, the glow of spirit, and the beauty of temperament that were so unique.

His splendid and blazing intellect, fed and enriched by constant study of the best thoughts of the great minds of the race, his all-persuasive eloquence, his teeming and radiant imagination, whirling his hearers along with it, and sometimes overpowering himself, his brilliant and sportive fancy, lighting up the most arid subjects with the glow of sunrise, his prodigious and never-failing memory, and his playful wit, always bursting forth with irresistible impulse, have been the subject of scores of essays and criticisms, all struggling with the vain

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effort to describe and crystallize the fascinating and magical charm of his speech and his influence.

But the occasion and the place remind me that here to-day we have chiefly to do with him as a lawyer and an advocate, and all that I shall presume briefly to suggest is what this statue will mean to the coming generations of lawyers and citizens.

And first, and far above his splendid talents and his triumphant eloquence, I would place the character of the man—pure, honest, delivered absolutely from all the temptations of sordid and mercenary things, aspiring daily to what was higher and better, loathing all that was vulgar and of low repute, simple as a child, and tender and sympathetic as a woman. Emerson most truly says that character is far above intellect, and this man's character surpassed even hi

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exalted intellect, and, controlling all his great endowments, made the consummate beauty of his life. I know of no greater tribute ever paid to a successful lawyer than that which he received from Chief Justice Shaw—himself an august and serene personality, absolutely familiar with his daily work and conversation—in his account of the effort that was made to induce Mr. Choate to give up his active and exhausting practise, and to take the place of professor in the Harvard Law School, made vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Story—an effort of which the Chief Justice, as a member of the corporation of Harvard, was the principal promoter. After referring to him then, in 1847, as “the leader of the Bar in every department of forensic eloquence,” and dwelling upon the great advantages which would accrue to the school from the profound

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legal learning which he possest, he said: "In the case of Mr. Choate, it was considered quite indispensable that he should reside in Cambridge, on account of the influence which his genial manners, his habitual presence, and the force of his character, would be likely to exert over the young men, drawn from every part of the United States to listen to his instructions."

What richer tribute could there be to personal and professional worth than such words from such lips? He was the fit man to mold the characters of the youth, not of the city or the State only, but of the whole nation. So let the statue stand as notice to all who seek to enter here, that the first requisite of true renown in our noble profession—renown not for a day or a life only, but for generations—is Character.

## **HOW TO INFLUENCE MEN**



## HOW TO INFLUENCE MEN

You wield a silent influence over other men by your personal character. The fine qualities of your mind and heart reveal themselves in subtle and unconscious ways to others, so that what you are is often more convincing and persuasive than anything you say.

This is evident from an examination of past great orators of the world. In every instance they were known for their lofty character and purpose. Their power to move and influence men was due in large measure to their innate sincerity and genuineness. This power within themselves gave them irresistible power over others.

*Your personality is a potent influence in your speaking. Whatever you have*

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*cultivated in personal taste, temperament, manner, voice, bearing, and outward appearance, plays an important part in the impression you make upon your hearers.*

Hence you should carefully study and develop those qualities of mind and heart which you know always act as an attractive force—the qualities of sympathy, interestedness, geniality, flexibility, adaptation, sincerity, and integrity. Cultivate these in your every-day conversation and manner and they will disclose themselves naturally in your public speaking.

#### **HOW TO APPEAL TO THE EMOTIONS**

It is erroneous to think that emotion is no longer necessary to move men. A purely intellectual speech, however sound its logic, is likely to fall upon dull ears unless it is charged with the mag-

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netic force of personal fervor and conviction.

An audience admires a speaker who is thoroughly in earnest and unmistakably means what he says. The most clearly stated truths may leave them totally unmoved, while a direct appeal to their emotions may instantly persuade them to act as the speaker desires.

*You must be sure, however, that your use of emotion is not an artificial thing, consciously added merely for appearance or outward effect. Feeling must emanate from within yourself, the spontaneous and inevitable result of your personal conviction and earnestness.*

There is nothing which more clearly reveals itself to an audience than the use of true or false emotion by a speaker. If his feeling is genuine, it will manifest itself in subtle ways immediately recognized by his hearers, and they will in-

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cline to trust him. If, on the contrary, his feeling is artificial, they will as surely detect it, and will be prejudiced against anything he may say.

### BALANCING THOUGHT AND FEELING

The use of thought and feeling should be properly balanced in public speaking. If you have too much of the intellectual and too little of the emotional, your style may be cold, formal, and unimpressive. A speech without appropriate force and feeling may have no more effect than the reading of a printed page. If you have too much of the emotional and too little of the intellectual, you may easily run to extravagance and even to fanaticism. A speech that is overburdened with emotion may repel rather than attract men.

In order to be an effective public speaker you must cultivate all the va-

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rious feelings, so that you can readily kindle them in the hearts of other men. At the time of speaking you must be able at will to arouse your sensibilities so that you will be alive to your finger-tips. Sympathy, animation, vivacity, and earnestness must be at your immediate command.

Men are usually impressive when talking upon subjects in which they have a deep personal interest. Hence in order to be eloquent, choose a theme which makes a strong appeal to you personally, and you will have little difficulty in making it of interest to other men.

A close observer of men once said that the only rules for eloquence were to feel one's subject deeply and to speak with self-confidence. Deep interest in a subject, however, implies that you have studied it thoroughly, and a full degree

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of self-confidence is usually the result of long and conscientious preparation.

A cardinal rule for developing the power to influence men is to try always to speak at your best, whether it be in daily conversation or in making a speech upon what you regard as an important occasion. By adhering strictly to this rule, by speaking always at your best, you will steadily and surely improve your speaking abilities.

### **THE POWER OF MENTAL IMAGERY**

The faculty of mental picture-making is indispensable to effective public speaking. By its aid you first fix clearly in your own mind that which you would convey to the minds of others.

A vivid imagination not only enables you to picture your subject in clear outlines, but it clearly acts as a stimulating influence upon your feelings.

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What you picture vividly you must first feel keenly, and this power, when properly developed, communicates itself almost unconsciously to an audience.

It is not merely what you say that impresses and moves your hearers, but the power and individuality you put into it. When you combine imagination, enthusiasm, and moral earnestness, you will invest even ordinary truths with new and wonderful power.

You can not too often remind yourself in this study that truth is your greatest ally, and that the minds of men naturally respond to its appeals. Hence feeling and earnestness should never be regarded as substitutes for truth, but as its handmaids. Primarily it is truth which first excites your own passions and convictions, so that you move the feelings of other men.

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### ACQUIRING THE ABILITY TO FORM MENTAL PICTURES

Clearness, quickness, and vividness in mental picture-making are developed through reading from great imaginative writers and speakers. Take, for example, the following extract, from Victor Hugo's description of the Battle of Waterloo, read it silently, try to see it mentally, and in detail; and observe its effect upon your own feelings:

“Then was seen a fearful sight.

“All this cavalry,—(three thousand five hundred men)—with sabres drawn, banners waving, and trumpets sounding, formed in column by division, descended with an even movement and as one man—with the precision of a bronze battering-ram opening a breach—the hill of La Belle Alliance, sank into that formidable depth where so many men had already fallen, disappeared in the smoke, then,

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rising from this valley of shadow reappeared on the other side, still compact and serried, mounting at full trot, through a cloud of grape emptying itself upon them, the frightful acclivity of mud of the plateau of Mont Saint Jean. They rose, serious, menacing, imperturbable; in the intervals of the musketry and artillery could be heard the sound of the colossal tramp. Being in two divisions, they formed two columns; Wathier's division had the right, Delord's the left. From a distance they would be taken for two immense serpents of steel stretching themselves toward the crest of the plateau, that ran through the battle like a prodigy.”

## FINDING HELP IN LITERATURE

Do not confine your study of mental picture-making to any one class of subjects, but select your material from a

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wide range of literature, both prose and poetry. Draw freely from such great imaginative writers as Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Hugo, Balzac, Tennyson and De Quincey. The Bible, especially the books of Job and Isaiah, offers unsurpassed material for this study.

### **AN EXAMPLE OF DESCRIPTIVE WRITING**

Read this passage from Washington Irving's description of "Rural Life in England," and try not only to see the picture but also to feel its atmosphere of beauty:

"Nothing can be more imposing than the magnificence of English park scenery. Vast lawns, that extend like sheets of vivid green, with here and there clumps of gigantic trees, heaping up rich piles of foliage; the solemn pomp of groves and woodland glades, with the

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deer trooping in silent herds across them, the hare bounding away to the covert, or the pheasant suddenly bursting upon the wing; the brook, taught to wind in natural meanderings or expand into a glassy lake; the sequestered pool, reflecting the quivering trees, with the yellow leaf sleeping on its bosom, and the trout roaming fearlessly about its limpid waters; while some rustic temple or sylvan statue, grown green and dark with age, gives an air of classic sanctity to the seclusion."

It is highly important that you have a clearly defined picture in your own mind, before attempting to convey it to others. The facility with which you can do this will increase rapidly through intelligent practise. Avail yourself of daily opportunities to develop this valuable power by applying it even to simple things.

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### VIVID DESCRIPTION IN A SPEECH

Here is an excellent illustration of the use of picture-making by David Lloyd George in concluding an address on "International Honor":

"May I tell you, in a simple parable, what I think this war is doing for us? I know a valley in North Wales, between the mountains and the sea—a beautiful valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blasts. It was very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hills above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which came from the hill-tops, and by the great spectacle of that great valley.

"We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable, too indulgent, many per-

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haps too selfish. And the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation; the great peaks of honor we have forgotten —duty and patriotism clad in glittering white; the great pinnacle of sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven. We shall descend into the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last, they will carry in their hearts the image of these great mountain peaks, whose foundations are unshaken tho Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war.”

Such a vivid description in a public speech always gains the attention of the audience, and moves them in the degree that the speaker himself is moved. A finely drawn mental picture is sometimes more potent with an audience than a skilful argument.

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### THE VALUE OF A GOOD MEMORY—AND HOW TO DEVELOP IT

A good memory plays a vital part in effective speaking. Though you do not memorize the actual words of your speech, you should be able to recall without difficulty ideas, principles, and the general plan you have decided upon.

There are many ways in which a dependable memory will serve you at the time of addressing an audience. It will enable you to summon at the moment of need precisely the ideas you have previously prepared, and to avail yourself of the special cautions you have laid down for your own guidance in speaking.

A good memory, coupled with good judgment, will tend to safeguard you from many common faults of public speakers. Having previously decided upon what you will say, what you will avoid saying, how much time you will

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occupy, and the specific things you will do to make your speech successful, your memory will vitally aid you in strictly observing these self-imposed conditions.

The subject of memory-training can be summed up in a paragraph:

*Select a subject in which you are deeply interested. This interest will cause you to concentrate. Concentration will give you clear impressions, ideas, and images of what you are reading. You remember best that which is most clearly and deeply imprest upon your mind. Memory is primarily dependent upon personal interest and intelligent concentration.*

Your daily mental habits are constantly shaping your powers for use in public speaking. Accustom yourself to think clearly even upon ordinary subjects. If you hear or read anything which you do not understand, or think

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is doubtful or illogical, ponder it carefully and try to reach a definite and satisfactory conclusion regarding it.

Practise thinking on one subject at a time, until you feel assured of having made some progress toward understanding it. Mentally challenge any important statement, and test its validity by an independent examination. Train your mind to systematic thinking, by means of thorough, logical, concentrated study of vital subjects .

## **A PRACTICAL EXERCISE FOR IMPROVING THE MEMORY**

An excellent exercise is to make a mental brief of some interesting theme, while you are walking alone, and carefully think out what you would say under each heading if you were obliged to speak without special preparation.

Begin this exercise by outlining the

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various divisions of the subject selected, just as you would put them on paper if you were writing. Clearly impress this outline on your mind so that you can picture it at will. Then recall all the important ideas you can summon under each of the heads, taking one phase at a time and in the order of your mental brief.

You can turn to advantage many odd moments of the day, which otherwise would be wasted, by practising this simple but valuable exercise in mental brief-making. A few minutes daily application to this exercise will wonderfully increase your general powers of public speaking.

In the privacy of your room, you can extend this exercise with useful results, by "thinking aloud." Speak the various parts of your brief, just as they occur to you, and as you arrange each

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part in its logical place give actual expression to your thoughts. Then as you proceed to supply ideas for each part, speak them aloud. Finally, repeat the entire speech as if addressing an audience.

### **RULES TO INCREASE YOUR POWER OF CONCENTRATION**

Concentration is one of the greatest essentials to effective public speaking. Gladstone's power of concentration, at a moment's notice, upon almost any subject, was enormous. His ability to summon immediately all the resources of his intellect and to apply them to the matter before him gave him singular power over other men.

You can develop this power by selecting an interesting subject and resolving to apply yourself to it for a definite time—ten minutes, half an hour,

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or longer,—and not to permit anything to divert you from it. Incidentally, a proper degree of concentration will rid you of self-consciousness and similar detriments to effective public speaking.

Make it a rule to consider one subject at a time and always with a definite purpose in view. The habit of thoroughness in your reading and studying will yield the best and most permanent results. When you have a speech in preparation for an important occasion, think of it frequently, talk the leading points over with a mutual friend, and so thoroughly steep yourself in it that you will look forward to the time of delivery with pleasant anticipation.

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## Speech for Study, with Lesson Talk

### A PLAN FOR STUDYING MODEL SPEECHES

A remarkably fine passage is reprinted here from a speech by John Bright, made in the British House of Commons, on February 23, 1855, in the debate on the Crimean War. He appealed to Lord Palmerston to save the country from the horrors of prolonged war. The passage is one of exceptional pathos and beauty.

First read it silently to grasp its import. Underscore phrases and passages which deeply impress you. Then stand up and deliver the lines with appropriate feeling and earnestness. Maintain your naturalness throughout.

Particularly note the effective use of such phrases as, "*I should like to ask,*" "*I say I should like to ask,*" "*I venture*

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*to hope," "I appeal," "I wish to suggest," "I can not but notice," "I tell the noble lord," and "I would entreat."*

The fearless and elevated spirit of the speaker here can be studied with advantage. He says exactly what he wants to say, but always in ingratiating style. His method is both virile and gracious.

Study the closing paragraph for its dignified thought and language. Carefully study the final sentence as an unusual example of sustained and eloquent appeal.

Always consult your dictionary for the pronunciation of any words about which you are in doubt, such as, *Crimea, armistice, suggest, and diminution*.

The exceptional character of this extract will justify your giving to it more than ordinary consideration. Study it thoroughly, until you fully grasp its underlying power and significance. Read

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it aloud, over and over again, until it is permanently engraved upon your memory.

### SPEECH FOR STUDY

#### ON THE CRIMEAN WAR

(*An Extract from a Speech by John Bright*)

There is one subject upon which I should like to put a question to the noble lord at the head of the Government. I shall not say one word here about the state of the army in the Crimea, or one word about its numbers or its condition. Every member of this House, every inhabitant of this country has been sufficiently harrowed with details regarding it. To my solemn belief, thousands—nay, scores of thousands—of persons have retired to rest, night after night, whose slumbers have been disturbed or whose dreams have been based upon the

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sufferings and agonies of our soldiers in the Crimea. I should like to ask the noble lord at the head of the Government—altho I am not sure if he will feel that he can, or ought to answer the question—whether the noble lord the Member for London has power, after discussions have commenced, and as soon as there shall be good grounds for believing that the negotiations for peace will prove successful, to enter into any armistice? (No, no!)

I know not, sir, who it is that says “No, no”; but I should like to see any man get up and say that the destruction of 200,000 human lives lost on all sides during the course of this unhappy conflict is not a sufficient sacrifice. You are not pretending to conquer territory, you are not pretending to hold fortified towns; you have offered terms of peace in which, as I understand them, I do not

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say you are not moderate; and breathes there a man in this House or in this country whose appetite for blood is so insatiable that, even when terms of peace have been offered and accepted, he pines for that assault in which, of Russian, Turk, French, and English, as sure as one man dies, 20,000 corpses will strew the streets of Sebastopol? I say I should like to ask the noble lord—and I am sure that he will feel, and that this House will feel, that I am speaking in no unfriendly manner toward the Government of which he is at the head—I should like to know, and I venture to hope that it is so, if the noble lord the Member for London has power, at the earliest stage of these proceedings at Vienna at which it can properly be done—and I should think that it might properly be done at a very early stage—to adopt a course by which all further

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waste of human life may be put an end to, and further animosity between three great nations be, as far as possible, prevented?

I appeal to the noble lord at the head of the Government and to this House; I am not now complaining of the war—I am not now complaining of the terms of peace, nor, indeed, of anything that has been done—but I wish to suggest to this House what, I believe, thousands and tens of thousands of the most educated and of the most Christian portion of the people are feeling upon this subject, altho, indeed, in the midst of a certain clamor in the country, they do not give public expression to their feelings. Your country is not in an advantageous state at this moment; from one end of the kingdom to the other there is a general collapse of industry. Those Members of this House not in-

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timately acquainted with the trade and commerce of the country do not fully comprehend our position as to the diminution of employment and the lessening of wages. An increase in the cost of living is finding its way to the homes and hearts of a vast number of the laboring population.

At the same time there is growing up—and, notwithstanding what some honorable Members of this House may think of me, no man regrets it more than I do—a bitter and angry feeling against that class which has for a long period conducted the public affairs of this country. I like political changes when such changes are made as the result, not of passion, but of deliberation and reason. Changes so made are safe, but changes made under the influence of violent exaggeration, or of the violent passions of public meetings, are not changes usu-

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ally approved by this House or advantageous to the country. I can not but notice, in speaking to gentlemen who sit on either side of this House, or in speaking to anyone I meet between this House and any of those localities we frequent when this House is up—I can not, I say, but notice that an uneasy feeling exists as to the news which may arrive by the very next mail from the East. I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return—many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive. The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings. There is no one, as when the first-born were slain

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of old, to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on. He takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and the lowly, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal.

I tell the noble lord, that if he be ready honestly and frankly to endeavor, by the negotiations about to be opened at Vienna, to put an end to this war, no word of mine, no vote of mine, will be given to shake his power for one single moment, or to change his position in this House. I am sure that the noble lord is not inaccessible to appeals made to him from honest motives and with no unfriendly feeling. The noble lord has been for more than forty years a Member of this House. Before I was born he sat upon the Treasury Bench, and he has

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spent his life in the service of his country. He is no longer young, and his life has extended almost to the term allotted to man. I would ask, I would entreat, the noble lord to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career—whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—can not but be a source of gratification to him. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the object of his laudable ambition—having become the foremost subject of the Crown, the director of, it may be, the destinies of his country and the presiding genius in her councils—he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition: that he had returned the sword to the scabbard—that he had restored tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war.



# **HOW TO MAKE A POLITICAL SPEECH**



## HOW TO MAKE A POLITICAL SPEECH

The requirements for political speaking are essentially those demanded by other formal occasions. Obviously you should have a well-trained voice, distinct enunciation, an appropriate use of the hands and arms, and a pleasing personality.

Furthermore, your proper equipment will include a good vocabulary, a resourceful English style, the faculty of lucid statement, and a large fund of common sense. You can best develop the latter qualities by closely studying the most notable speeches of great political leaders.

*The importance of preliminary preparation for successful speech-making*

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is suggested by Hamilton Wright Mabie, when he says:

“In the famous debate with Hayne, Webster had practically but one day in which to prepare his reply to his persuasive and accomplished adversary; but when he spoke, it was to put into language for all time the deep conviction of the reality of the national idea. The great orator had scant time to make ready for the greatest opportunity of his life, but, in reality, he had been preparing from boyhood to make that immortal speech. Brilliant speeches are often made extemporaneously; but such speeches are never made without long and arduous preparation.”

## **HANDICAPS OF POLITICAL SPEAKING**

Many a political speech has to be made under difficult and trying circumstances. A political audience is likely

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to be of an unusually mixed character, representing various shades of opinion and prejudice.

Again, it is possible that such an audience will have some members who are openly antagonistic to you as the speaker, and you may be subjected to frequent and discourteous interruptions. To be equal to such emergencies will require self-control and discrimination on your part, much of which can be acquired only after long experience.

## **HOW TO ACQUIRE PROPER DELIVERY**

Political speeches are often made before large audiences. It is of primary importance, therefore, that you learn to speak from the chest, and not from the throat. The chest voice is fuller, pleasanter, more resonant, and less fatiguing than the throat voice.

The chest voice, reinforced by deep

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abdominal breathing, is the natural instrument for expressing truth. It satisfies the listening ear, and conveys a sense of adequate power on the part of the speaker.

*First, you must be able to make yourself easily heard.* Your voice should be so developed, chiefly through daily reading aloud, that it will easily penetrate into the furthermost parts of the hall in which you speak. Audibility will depend not so much upon great volume of voice, as upon a clear-toned quality and distinct enunciation.

As you practise the various extracts and speeches assigned to you in this book, always open your mouth well and give the voice all possible freedom. Speak through the throat and not from it. A little preliminary practise in artificial yawning will help you in this respect.

## HOW TO MAKE A POLITICAL SPEECH

As a general thing, you will do well in political speaking *to aim simply at making a few good points*, and not to speak exhaustively. Present them clearly, drive them home with earnestness and power, and then stop.

*Resolve not to lose your personal poise under any circumstances. Assume a mental attitude of dignity and confidence, and maintain this throughout your speech.*

*Be careful not to allow your voice to die away at the closing word or words of a sentence. The vital importance of your statement may depend chiefly upon the last word in a sentence and if the auditor fails to hear it he is naturally disappointed.*

Proper care in enunciating your words in daily conversation will make it easy for you to speak distinctly in public. You are constantly making short

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speeches in your talk with others, and what you do well there you will be likely to do well when addressing an audience.

### THE VALUE OF SPEAKING DELIBERATELY

The special advantage of a deliberate style in speaking is that it tends to give you increased self-possession. It safeguards you against the common faults of a rapid utterance, by giving you time to think properly before you speak. Moreover, it makes a more favorable impression upon your audience.

A good example of the value of deliberate speaking was presented in the case of Lord Palmerston. At a political gathering he was asked if he would give a plain answer to a plain question. He assented. The question was whether he would vote for a Radical reform? He answered slowly: “I will”—pausing

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while the Liberals cheered—"not"—whereupon the Conservatives cheered,—and then slowly added—"tell you!". And there was loud laughter all round.

An effective political speech has its basis in sound common sense. Serious-minded men expect you to present serious and substantial ideas for their consideration. Hence it is very desirable that you have authenticated facts of what you undertake to talk about.

Assume that your hearers are likely to know as much about your subject as you do, and that you must be exceptionally well-informed if you are to give them something interesting or valuable. This thought should stimulate you to make the utmost effort in the preparation of your subject, and give you a becoming degree of modesty in presenting it to others.

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### ESSENTIALS OF EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT

*It is a dangerous if not a fatal thing to belittle an opponent.* Personal invective is always distasteful to an audience, and almost sure to react upon a speaker to his own disadvantage. Let your opponent speak for himself, and give your time to the serious consideration of those ideas which you wish to impress upon the minds of your hearers.

*Let your speech, then, be marked throughout by common sense.* Be natural, plain, modest, and sincere. Don't trifl, equivocate, conjecture, wander, or exaggerate. Having secured for yourself the plain facts of your subject, deliver them in a plain, manly, straightforward style.

More errors are made by reasoning from false premises than from making wrong inferences from correct premises.

## HOW TO MAKE A POLITICAL SPEECH

*Always be sure, therefore, that your starting-point is based upon truth, remembering that truth is that which admits of proof.*

Many a political speaker makes obviously exaggerated claims for party, cause, or candidate. In such circumstances, the auditors are likely to lose faith in him and give their sympathy and allegiance to his opponent.

*See that your speech has right proportion.* What you say should appear reasonable to other men. The ultimate success of your speech will depend more upon its coherence than upon flashes of brilliant phrases.

*Keep strictly to practical, palpable, common-sense ideas.* Popular audiences do not like abstractions. They prefer not to be set a task in deep thinking. The more you confine your speech to their every-day experiences, the more

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favorably disposed they will be toward  
you.

The average political speaker has a peculiar tendency to talk too long. A speech that has made a favorable impression at the end of twenty or thirty minutes, may result in utter failure if long drawn out. Comparatively few men have anything of importance to say on one subject which will occupy more than fifteen minutes.

It is a mistake to think that a successful speech must necessarily be of great length. More often it is the short, crisp, suggestive speech, delivered with vivacity, force, and directness that finds the true mark. Enough is as good as a feast, but too much is worse than a fast.

#### **THE USE OF GESTURES**

As a political speech is usually marked by earnestness, there is need for

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considerable gesture and action. But let your gesture emanate from within. Let it be the natural and inevitable expression of your own inner conviction and heartfelt sincerity.

*Use gesture in moderation*, lest it lose its significance from over-repetition. Do not slavishly imitate the gesture of some favorite speaker, but endeavor to cultivate a graceful and forceful style of your own. Try always to suit your action to the thought, so that it will give additional clearness, expressiveness, or emphasis.

The principal thing is to be deeply convinced yourself of the truth of what you are saying, and then your gesture will largely take care of itself. Be on your guard against forming undesirable mannerisms which detract from the effectiveness of your speaking.

A very good plan is to stand before a

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looking-glass and make an impromptu speech, introducing such gestures as you think appropriate. Scrutinize each gesture and ask yourself: "Does it add anything to the clearness or force of the thought? Is it appropriate? Is it graceful, forceful, necessary?"

The proper time to think of your gesture and to decide upon the principal ways in which you intend to use it is during your practise at home. When you are making an actual speech, do not be conscious of your bodily movements, but give your attention exclusively to the substance of your address.

What you are, innately, proclaims you louder than your words. Cleverness can not be successfully substituted for character. The qualities of a great personality,—simplicity, sincerity, earnestness, and moral vigor,—will carry greater

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conviction than the most cultivated powers of oratory without them.

*Never descend in your speaking.* A political candidate once lost many votes because he address an audience of workmen in his shirt sleeves. They resented his failure to pay them the same respect he would have given to a more fashionable audience.

### AVOID VERBIAGE

There is a type of political speaking which is made up largely of words, and frequently exposes a speaker to ridicule. Such a speaker can not bring himself to state a simple fact, such as "Two and two make four," as that seems too tame to him, so he says:

"Sir, I will venture to affirm, and I do not hesitate to declare, having come here this evening for that purpose, and am now on my feet with that intention—a

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fixt and unalterable intention—and my assertion, I imagine and opine, will meet with general concurrence of everyone sitting before me to-night, in whatever part of the hall they may sit, and will commend itself to thousands outside these walls,—that if you take the numeral two and increase it to the extent of two more, by the process, I may say the well-known process, entitled addition, the result, I have no hesitation in saying, will be found to be four—no more on the one hand, while on the other hand it will be no less.”

This exaggerated example will serve to show the folly and uselessness of mere verbiage, and the damage it may do both to a speaker and the cause he represents.

Be careful not to overdo such expressions as, “I venture to say,” “As a matter of fact,” “I have yet to learn,” “I hear someone asking,” etc. Any phrase,

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however good in itself, becomes monotonous and pointless by constant repetition.

Avoid either extreme of bragging or boasting on the one hand, or undue modesty or self-depreciation on the other. Keep to a middle course, and try to be your real self at your best. To touch upon a personal shortcoming is to direct attention to something which your hearers might not have discovered, but who then may think of it to your own undoing.

One of the most vital things in public speaking is to know how and when to stop. A truly admirable speech has often been hopelessly ruined by the speaker's succumbing to the temptation to say a few words more and so make an attenuated ending. Do not reproach yourself if you should inadvertently omit some of the "cleverest things"

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from your speech. If you have made a good conclusion to your speech, you have probably won the favor and approbation of your audience, which is far more important than to have your own approval.

### **Speech for Study, with Lesson Talk**

#### **SUGGESTIONS TO HELP YOU IN YOUR STUDY**

Read aloud the accompanying extract from the speech of Senator George F. Hoar, in the Beveridge-Hoar Debate on the Philippine Question, delivered in the United States Senate, April 17, 1900.

It furnishes you with good material for practise in direct and conversational style. Render it aloud very slowly and with due regard to proper emphasis so as to bring out the most important ideas.

Make a special study of the concluding

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paragraph, and note the climactic effect of the repetition of "I appeal." Be natural in your delivery, even in the most intense parts. Practise the speech aloud once a day for a week. You will observe good results from this regular exercise.

The resolution under discussion was the following: Be it resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such and to establish and maintain such governmental control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand.

Be sure to pronounce correctly such words as, *Philippine*, *pithy*, *hospitable*, *oppression*, and *aggrandizement*. Keep

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a good dictionary ready at your hand  
for constant reference.

The speaker's eloquent and effective  
use of the "roll call" is worthy of most  
careful study, altho it could be safely  
employed only by a highly confident and  
experienced public speaker.

As you read this speech aloud, vary  
your voice in keeping with the changes  
of thought, open your mouth well, favor  
the low tones, and imagine yourself ad-  
dressing a body of men like the United  
States Senate.

### SPEECH FOR STUDY ON THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION (*An Extract from the Speech of Senator George F. Hoar*)

I have failed to discover in the speech,  
public or private, of the advocates of  
this war, or in the press which supports  
it and them, a single expression any-

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where of a desire to do justice to the people of the Philippine Islands, or of a desire to make known to the people of the United States the truth of the case. Some of them, like the Senator from Indiana and the President of the Senate, are outspoken in their purpose to retain the Philippine Islands forever, to govern them ourselves, or to do what they call giving them such share in government as we hereafter may see fit, having regard to our own interest, and, as they sometimes add, to theirs. The others say, "Hush! We will not disclose our purpose just now. Perhaps we may," as they phrase it, "give them liberty sometime. But it is to be a long time first."

The catchwords, the cries, the pithy and pregnant phrases of which all their speech is full, all mean dominion. They mean perpetual dominion. When a man

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tells you that the American flag must not be hauled down where it has once floated, or demands of a shouting audience, “Who will haul it down?” if he mean anything, he means that that people shall be under our dominion forever. The man who says, “We will not treat with them till they submit; we will not deal with men in arms against the flag,” says, in substance, the same thing. One thing there has been, at least, given to them as Americans not to say. There is not one of these gentlemen who will rise in his place and affirm that if he were a Filipino he would not do exactly as the Filipinos are doing; that he would not despise them if they were to do otherwise. So much, at least, they owe of respect to the dead and buried history—the dead and buried history, so far as they can slay and bury it—of their country.

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Why, the tariff schemes which are proposed are schemes in our interest and not in theirs. If you propose to bring tobacco from Porto Rico or from the Philippine Islands on the ground that it is for the interest of the people whom you are undertaking to govern, for their best interest to raise it and sell it to you, every imperialist in Connecticut will be up in arms. The nerve in the pocket is still sensitive, tho the nerve in the heart may be numb. You will not let their sugar come here to compete with the cane sugar of Louisiana or the beet sugar of California or the Northwest, and in determining that question you mean to think, not of their interest but of yours. The good government you are to give them is a government under which their great productive and industrial interests, when peace comes, are to be totally and ab-

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solutely disregarded by their government. You are not only proposing to do that, but you expect to put another strain on the Constitution to accomplish it.

Why, Mr. President, the atmosphere of both legislative chambers, even now, is filled with measures proposing to govern and tax these people for our interest, and not for theirs. Your men who are not alarmed at the danger to constitutional liberty are up in arms when there is danger to tobacco. As an eloquent Republican colleague said elsewhere, “Beware that you do not create another Ireland under the American flag.” Beware that you do not create many other Irelands—another Ireland in Porto Rico; another Ireland in Cuba; many other Irelands in the Philippines! The great complaint of Ireland for eight centuries was that England framed her

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taxation and regulated her tariff, not for Ireland's interest, but for her own ; that when she dealt with the great industries of that beautiful isle she was thinking of the English exchequer and of the English manufacturer and of the English landowner ; and she reduced Ireland to beggary. Let us not repeat that process.

Certainly the flag should never be lowered from any moral field over which it has once waved. To follow the flag is to follow the principles of freedom and humanity for which it stands. To claim that we must follow it when it stands for injustice or oppression is like claiming that we must take the nostrums of the quack doctor who stamps them on his wares, or follow every scheme of wickedness or fraud, if only the flag be put at the head of the prospectus. The American flag is in more danger from the imperialists than it would be if the whole

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of Christendom were to combine its power against it. Foreign violence at worst could only rend it. But these men are trying to stain it.

It is claimed—what I do not believe—that these appeals have the sympathy of the American people. It is said that the statesman who will lay his ear to the ground will hear their voice. I do not believe it. The voice of the American people does not come from the ground. It comes from the sky. It comes from the free air. It comes from the mountains where liberty dwells. Let the statesman who is fit to deal with the question of liberty or to utter the voice of a free people lift his ear to the sky—not lay it to the ground.

Mr. President, it was once my good fortune to witness an impressive spectacle in this chamber, when the Senators answered to their names in rendering

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solemn judgment in a great State trial. By a special provision each Senator was permitted, when he cast his vote, to state his reason in a single sentence. I have sometimes fancied that the question before us now might be decided, not alone by the votes of us who sit here to-day, but of the great men who have been our predecessors in this chamber and in the Continental Congress from the beginning of the Republic.

Would that that roll might be called! The solemn assembly sits silent while the Chair puts the question whose answer is so fraught with the hopes of liberty and the destiny of the Republic.

The roll is called. *George Washington*: “No. Why should we quit our own, to stand on foreign ground?”

*Alexander Hamilton*: “No. The Declaration of Independence is the fundamental constitution of every state.”

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*Thomas Jefferson:* "No. Governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Every people ought to have that separate and equal station among the nations of the world to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them."

*John Adams:* "No. I stood by the side of Jefferson when he brought in the Declaration; I was its champion on the floor of Congress. After our long estrangement, I came back to his side again."

*James Madison:* "No. The object of the federal Constitution is to secure the union of the thirteen primitive States, which we know to be practicable, and to add to them such other States as may arise in their own bosoms or in their neighborhood, which we can not doubt will be practicable."

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*Thomas Corwin:* "No. I said in the days of the Mexican War: 'If I were a Mexican, as I am an American, I would welcome you with bloody hands to hospitable graves'; and Ohio to-day honors and loves me for that utterance beyond all her other sons."

*Daniel Webster:* "No. Under our Constitution there can be no dependencies. Wherever there is in the Christian and civilized world a nationality of character, then a national government is the necessary and proper result. There is not a civilized and intelligent man on earth that enjoys satisfaction with his condition if he does not live under the government of his own nation, his own country. A nation can not be happy but under a government of its own choice. When I depart from these sentiments I depart from myself."

*William H. Seward:* "No. The fram-

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ers of the Constitution never contemplated colonies or provinces at all; they contemplated states only; nothing less than states—perfect states, equal states, sovereign states. There is reason, there is sound political wisdom, in this provision of the Constitution—excluding colonies which are always subject to oppression, and excluding provinces, which always tend to corrupt and enfeeble and ultimately break down the parent state.”

*John Marshall:* “No. The power to declare war was not conferred upon Congress for the purpose of aggression or aggrandizement. A war declared by Congress can never be presumed to be waged for the purpose of conquest or the acquisition of territory, nor does the law declaring the war imply an authority to the President to enlarge the limits of the United States by subjugating the enemy’s country.”

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*John Quincy Adams:* "No. The territories I helped bring into the nation were to be dwelt in by free men and made into free states."

*Aaron Burr:* "Yes. You are repeating my buccaneering expedition down the Mississippi. I am to be vindicated at last!"

*Abraham Lincoln:* "No. I said in Independence Hall at Philadelphia, just before I entered upon my great office, that I rested upon the truth Thomas Jefferson has just uttered, and that I was ready to be assassinated, if need be, in order to maintain it. And I was assassinated in order to maintain it."

*Charles Sumner:* "No. I proclaimed it when I brought in Alaska. I sealed my devotion with my blood also. It was my support and solace through those many long and weary hours when the

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red-hot iron pressed upon my spine, the very source and origin of agony, and I did not flinch. He knows our country little, little also of that great liberty of ours, who supposes that we could receive such a transfer. On each side there is impossibility. Territory may be conveyed, but not people."

*William McKinley:* "There has been a cloud before my vision for a moment, but I see clearly now; I go back to what I said two years ago: 'Forcible annexation is criminal aggression; governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, not some of them, but of all of them.' I will stand with the Fathers of the Republic. I will stand with the founders of the Republican party. No."

Mr. President, I know how imperfectly I have stated this argument. I know how feeble is a single voice amid

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this din and tempest, this delirium of empire. It may be that the battle for this day is lost. But I have an assured faith in the future. I have an assured faith in justice and the love of liberty of the American people. The stars in their courses fight for freedom. The Ruler of the heavens is on that side. If the battle to-day go against it, I appeal to another day, not distant and sure to come. I appeal from the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet and the brawling and the shouting to the quiet chamber where the Fathers gathered in Philadelphia. I appeal from the spirit of trade to the spirit of liberty. I appeal from the Empire to the Republic. I appeal from the millionaire, and the boss, and the wire-puller, and the manager, to the statesman of the elder time, in whose eyes a guinea never glistened, who lived and died poor, and who left

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to his children and to his countrymen  
a good name, far better than riches. I  
appeal from the Present, bloated with  
material prosperity, drunk with the lust  
of empire, to another and a better age  
**I appeal from the Present to the Future  
and to the Past.**

## **WORDS AND TALKING**



## WORDS AND TALKING

This is an age of talking. There are large numbers of men everywhere with an accumulation of ideas, opinions, advice, and arguments which they are eager to communicate to others. Talking has become a contagious national disease from which few persons are immune. The talking habit manifests itself copiously in committees, conferences, conventions, and conversation.

The inordinate desire of some men to talk was well illustrated a few weeks ago. A criminal was about to be executed, in one of the States where men are killed by electrocution, and being asked if he had anything to say, briefly answered "No." Thereupon a man stept out from the little group waiting

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to witness the execution, and said, "May I have the time this man does not want, as I would like to speak on some of the vital topics of the day?"

The Spartans had a law which imposed a fine on any citizen found guilty of using three words where two would suffice. If that law were enforced upon our public men to-day, it would mean an incalculable saving of time, energy, and peace of mind. It is unmitigated torture for some men to undergo a period of enforced silence.

There is a type of talker who has no intention of listening to what you say, but while you are speaking is busily engaged in framing the words which he intends to express at the first convenient gap of silence.

When a Senator asks a fellow member if he will yield the floor to him, the usual reply means in substance that the

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Senator would far rather yield up his life than forego the opportunity to talk. A new member in the British parliament has been known to prepare a speech with meticulous care and then to carry it in his pocket to the House of Commons for weeks and even months without the slightest opportunity of delivering it.

## LAWYERS AND THE USE OF WORDS

Some lawyers are great offenders in respect to volubility. A certain lawyer was about to open a case in court, and as he approached a small table in front of the Judge's bench, carrying an armful of formidable books and papers, the Judge leaned over and quietly said to him, "Mr. Blank, will you please give us the gist of that." And the lawyer, looking meekly up into the Judge's face, said, "Your Honor, this is all gist."

The time spent in cross-examination

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sometimes becomes almost farcical. The lawyer for the prosecution says to the intimidated witness, "When you called at Mr. Smith's house, what did he say?" The defending lawyer at once raises objection and they retire to an adjoining room where they discuss the law at some length. The question is finally allowed, and returning to the court-room the prosecuting lawyer repeats triumphantly, "Now, sir, when you called at Mr. Smith's house, what did he say?" And the witness blandly answers, "Mr. Smith wasn't in!"

## INTRICACIES OF LEGAL PHRASEOLOGY

There is nothing more formal than the way a lawyer writes a letter, or drafts an agreement. His whole training seems to unfit him for simple expression, and many times he is more mysterious in his phrases than the phy-

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sician with his prescription. If, for example, I hand you an orange, I might simply say: "Here is an orange." Not so with the average lawyer. It must be in "legal form," and he would probably say. "I hereby give, grant, release, convey, confirm and forever relinquish, and by these presents have given, granted, released, conveyed, confirmed and forever relinquished, all my right, title, interest, use, property, possession and claim to, at, of, under and in the accompanying orange. Together with all the seeds, skin, juice, pulp, peel, particles, and all privileges, profits and franchises thereto incident, appendant and appurtenant, or therewith usually had or enjoyed, as well as the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or anywise appertaining, and revision and revisions, remainder and remainders, as well in law as in equity, of, in, and to

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same, to have and to hold unto you the party of the second part and your heirs and assigns to your and their own proper use, benefit and behoof forever. And for my heirs, executors and administrators I hereby covenant, grant and agree to and with you the said party of the second part, your heirs and assigns, that I the party of the first part am lawfully seized in my own right to a good, absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple of any in all and singular the above granted and briefly described orange!"

### **A COMMON FAULT OF PREACHERS**

Clergymen sometimes ignore the desire of the congregation for short sermons. Not long ago a stranger entered a church, and observing that the preacher was in the midst of his sermon quietly sat down in a back pew. The preacher

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went from "fourthly" to "fifthly" then to "lastly" and "finally," then to "one word more" and "by the way of summing up," but with no indication of having any terminal facilities. After some time the stranger leaned forward and asked a man sitting in front of him, "How long has he been preaching?" The man, who appeared to be an old member of the church, replied, "About thirty-five years." "Then," said the stranger, "I think I'll wait a little longer, as he must be nearly finished."

## THE ART OF CONDENSATION

There is great need for a more thorough study and application of the art of condensation. We can emulate with profit the example of Macaulay, who thought his morning well spent only when he had written at least seven pages of foolscap and reduced them to two or

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three pages. Many of our most distinguished public and professional men need rigid training in the use of concise speech. The tendency of the experienced public speaker is to talk too long. He is loath to leave unexpressed a single thought which he has prepared for the subject in hand. He thinks it is all gist.

### **THE PRACTISE OF REFLECTION**

We should bear in mind that the art of being still has a vital relation to our ability as speakers. It is during times of stillness that we grow our best thoughts. If every one would set apart five minutes regularly every day for silence and relaxation the community would be immensely enriched.

The need for mental stillness, for poise and silence, is obvious. We should form the habit of waiting long enough to see both sides of a question. As a

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keen observer has said of Americans, "Their quick perceptions serve them so well in business and in the ordinary affairs of private life that they do not feel the need for minute investigation and patient reflection on the underlying principles of things."

A wealthy man called his profligate son to his bedside and told him that he was leaving all his money to him on one condition, namely, that he should each day spend one hour alone. The son promised to obey and became a regenerated character. Solitude for one hour out of twenty-four made him think.

## ACQUIRING A MASTERY OF WORDS

We should be fastidious in our choice and use of words. We acquire our vocabulary largely from our reading and our personal associates. The words we use are an unfailing indication of our

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thoughts, habits, tastes, ideals, and interests in life.

Ruskin's counsel is to form the habit of looking intensely at words. We should scrutinize their innermost meanings, until we have made them our personal possessions. Fox once said, "I am never at a loss for a word, but Pitt always has *the* word."

All the great writers and orators have been profound students of words. Demosthenes and Cicero were indefatigable in their examination and study of language. Shakespeare was a master of words, and Coleridge once said of him that you might as well try to dislodge a brick from a building with your forefinger as to omit a single word from one of his fine passages. Milton, mighty magician of majestic prose, under whose wonderful touch words became charmed and electrified; Flaubert, who believed

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that there was one and one only best word with which to express a given idea; De Quincey, with his weird power over words; Keats, who brooded over fine phrases like a lover; Webster, whose words often weighed a ton; and Lincoln, of simple Saxon speech,—these illustrious men were assiduous in their study of words.

### WORDS THAT INDICATE MENTAL CALIBER

You can judge a man by the words he uses. Certain classes of society use certain kinds of words. We know the temperamental talker by his constant use of adjectives and superlatives. He may dazzle us at times, but we mistrust his judgment. We recognize his proneness to exaggeration.

We know the conservative, prudent, reliable type of man by the words he uses. He chooses words with discrim-

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ination and uses them sparingly. He talks little, but when he speaks he says something worth while. He uses words like a rifleman, aiming at a definite mark. He is totally different from the voluble talker who aims at nothing and invariably hits it.

We are all familiar with the type of imaginative invalid whose vocabulary is filled with such words as disease, drugs, doctors, death, destruction, despair, discouragement, disaster, and defeat. He thrives on negative phrases.

The dogmatist discloses his true character in his frequent use of positive and emphatic words. He has a contradictory attitude of mind, and is fond of such words as "positively," "absolutely," "unquestionably," and "undoubtedly."

We should have regard for the sacredness of words. The Chinese have a cus-

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tom which reflects credit upon them. Scraps of paper bearing print must not be thrown away, but deposited in receptacles provided for the purpose. At certain intervals authorized men burn the accumulated paper with appropriate ceremony. The Chinese regard printed words as representing so many thoughts and therefore not to be treated indifferently.

## **WORDS TO EXPRESS THOUGHT**

The study of words is one of the most interesting and profitable pursuits to which a man can devote leisure moments. There is a reciprocal influence between thoughts and words. What we think molds the words we use, and the words we use react upon our thoughts. The study of words stimulates deep and original thinking.

Our English language is a priceless

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heritage. The possible combinations of the twenty-six letters of the alphabet are almost infinite. A thousand million writers, writing forty pages daily of such combinations, for a thousand years, would not exhaust them. This wonderful possession is yours to do with it what you will.

Words are important tools of the public speaker, but true eloquence lies in the thought. It is clear, therefore, that while you should be discriminating in your choice of words, the effectiveness and usefulness of your speech will depend principally upon the worth and character of your message.

### Speech for Study, with Lesson Talk

#### WOODROW WILSON—THE ORATOR

It will be observed that in the accompanying speech by Woodrow Wilson

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there is no appearance of attempted declamation or oratory. The peculiar charm of the speaker lies mainly in his incisiveness and felicity of expression—products of clear and precise thinking.

In analyzing this speech the student will do well to bear in mind that it was largely due to long previous preparation. The speaker undoubtedly began many years before, tho unconsciously, to fit himself for just such an effort and occasion.

The writer asked Mr. Wilson some months ago for permission to reprint one of his speeches in a forthcoming book. The request was cheerfully granted, but the speaker first subjected the copy of his speech to a most rigid correction and revision.

Mr. Wilson has an exquisite sense of fitness which enables him to appraise the occasion of his speaking, and thus

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to adjust his speech to its immediate requirements. Again, he has the rare ability to become properly indignant without losing intellectual poise or sacrificing his personal dignity.

This speech will repay careful study, and if the student will read it aloud several times he will shortly have a clear and stimulating impression of its cogent and melodious style.

## A LEAGUE OF NATIONS \*

BY WOODROW WILSON

Mr. Chairman—I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been ren-

\* Address before the Peace Conference, Paris, delivered January 25, 1919.

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dered necessary by this war, and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements, but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements, which perhaps can not be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions they are not susceptible for confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which

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the work of this conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not representatives of Governments, but representatives of peoples.

It will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how

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the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the Government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained.

This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent.

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We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy, whom we have just overcome, had at his seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous cooperation of men can see

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to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now

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become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore, the United States should feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless the guaranty involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make the League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency—but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interest of nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that

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do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you

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have justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which express our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

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We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program, which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil

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rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the highminded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is

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known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar cause. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war, but to win a cause. And I am responsible to them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our

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standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the fullest in this enterprise.

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